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Bordered citizenship: National identities, transnational lives and the limitation of the UK's National Citizen Service

Abstract

This article offers a critical look at the UK Government's flagship youth citizenship policy the National Citizen Service (NCS). It draws upon contemporary European research, debates and policy agendas around youth democracy and social integration to provide a contextual background for analysing why some EU nation states citizenship programmes fail to reflect young people's lives today. It asks the question: What type of citizenship model is needed? It argues that there is a disparity between national identity, and the desire of young people to embrace democratic change through non-conventional means. It presents an understanding of youth in late modernity which encompasses global realities, emerging cultural identities to illustrate their role as 'active citizens' on their own terms. It appraises the limitations of the current NCS programme and its failure reflect the changing global realities of young people's lives, transnational and hybrid cultural identities in order to project a 'cosmopolitan perspective' onto the latest citizenship debate.

Keywords: NCS; youth; volunteering; citizenship; young people; Europe

Introduction

Young people's citizenship remains an ever-present issue in both academic and political discourses at local, national and European levels. The EU's recent initiative *Building Tomorrow's Europe* seeks to engage partner countries in a wider youth policy and citizenship debate about youth voices, participation and civic engagement, with the intention of brokering a newer understanding of the entitlements afforded by European citizenship. This article will provide a spotlight on the United Kingdom Coalition Government's latest youth citizenship programme to assess whether it makes any significant contribution to the current debate on youth citizenship and participation in the twenty first century. It will offer a critical appraisal of the NCS to highlight the paucity of such a policy approach and will reveal the limitations of a model that embodies a 'nationhood citizenship' framework. It will demonstrate how this approach to citizenship can be conceptualised as a bounded or liminal space which keeps young people within the territorial borders of the nation, and can therefore be considered as backwards step in the challenge to empower young people to envisage their futures within a broader EU citizenship debate.

Firstly, the article will provide a broad overview of the most recent understanding of young people's lived experiences in late modernity. It will explain how young people today are forging their identities amidst an array of complex social, economic and cultural changes. It will outline how they can be described as 'digital natives' as the new-borns of the 'information age' and it will provide a conceptual map of the social, cultural and economic terrain they inhabit. The intention here is to illustrate how the way in which they construct their identity differs significantly to the traditional or 'old skool' mechanism of parliamentary democracy. It also argues how these cultural exchanges and globalized worlds they inhabit suggest the need for a very different interpretation of citizenship from that which is currently on offer to them.

Secondly, it will explain how the notion of citizenship embedded in the UK's NCS

programme reflects the specific concerns of EU nation's states desire to instil a stronger national identity within the shifting sands of European migration and wider global demographic trend. It will show how the NCS draws upon historical concepts of patriotism and civic duty in constructing a model of 'citizenship as nationhood' based upon communitarian approaches. It expresses concerns that such a narrowing of citizenship horizons, e.g. those framed around nationality negates a cosmopolitan view of identity and citizenship which are required for the development of broader transnational identity necessary for EU citizenship to flourish.

Thirdly, the discussion will shift towards policy in practice to explore the effectiveness of the NCS in achieving its own objectives of promoting social cohesion, supporting youth transitions and enabling young people's active citizenship and empowerment at a local level. It will be proposed that the NCS casts a very dim shadow when put in the light of previous youth social action and volunteering initiatives. It will explain how a limited 'fast burn' citizenship programme is problematic because it fails to sustain youth engagement or facilitate any significant changes in the social attitudes or the lives of young people.

NCS the story so far...

The idea of what became the National Citizen Service was originally devised by the UK Prime Minister Cameron and is based on his schoolboy experiences at Eton College. These experiences involved participating in civic duties as part of the cadet force, which instilled a sense of duty and voluntarism, a kind of "doing good deeds" resulting in a positive sense of wellbeing. It was assumed that this volunteering approach could be utilised to galvanise a generation of young people, believed to be apathetic, self-interested and uncaring about their communities.

The initial proposals were designed to be a compulsory form of national service, involving military-style training corps for all school leavers, a sort of 'passing out' ceremony

as part of their transition into adulthood. However, the ideal was thwarted from the start, firstly by University of Strathclyde's (2009) highly critical evaluation of its predecessor – *The Challenge*[1] – which proposed a compulsory, national service/military-type drill approach. The Strathclyde evaluation identified that such a scheme would not be acceptable to youth trainers and young people alike. In addition, it suggested that the structure of the programme which seemed positive in terms of personal development and promoting team building skills; was far less effective in the vital task of sustaining social integration, community involvement or social networking, and as such offered little in terms of supporting young people's transitions or the development of key life skills.

The NCS was launched immediately after the UK General Election of 2010; at the same time that the public spending cuts in youth service funding were announced. In terms of youth policy it can firmly be located within the Coalition government's wider 'Big Society' agenda[2], as its stated aims were to develop youth-led initiatives "for building a bigger, stronger society" (Cameron, 2011, online). The ambition of the programme is to engage all 16 year olds in promoting a more cohesive, responsible and engaged society. According to NatCen (2013) it started in 2011 by providing 9,000 places (81% of 11,000 targets) for young people aged 16 year olds across England. During the second phase in 2012, the take up of NCS places was 26,003 (96% of the 27,000 target). As for the future, it is envisaged that there will be 90,000 places for young people in 2014, and eventually 600,000 for all school leavers (ibid, p.10).

[1] ***The Challenge*** was a civic service programme aimed at Year 11 school students; it was set up by the Conservative Party in 2009 and provided opportunities for young people to work in groups with the aim of developing leadership, social mixing and support transitions to adulthood

[2] The **Big Society** idea was launched in the 2010 Conservative manifesto. David Cameron has previously described British society as 'broken' and 'atomised'. The Big Society was presented as a solution to society's social problems. It represented a policy shift away from state sponsored initiatives towards local action, volunteerism, charities and social enterprises. It has received much criticism, seen as justification for the public sector cuts, and the privatising of public services (see Kisby, 2010).

Most interestingly of all was that Cameron chose to re-launch the NCS in a speech in the wake of the 2011 English summer 'riots' and presented the scheme as a sort of panacea for what was categorised as the "slow motion moral collapse that has taken place in parts of our country these past few generations" (Prime Minister Office, 2011, online). To this end the NCS was designed to provide a framework for 'good citizenship' that instils the values of "team-work, discipline, duty, decency" (ibid.) such traits are deemed necessary for inculcating moral values for disaffected young people involved in the 'riots' today's 'broken youth' that he described as "…showing indifference to right and wrong…… with a twisted moral code…… with a complete absence of self-restraint" (ibid.).

From its onset the NCS programme has come under severe criticism, set against a backdrop of recent budget cuts to local authority youth services and summer programmes. According to the UK government's Education Select Committee (2011) local authority youth service budget cuts have "averaged 28%, but that some authorities were cutting 70%, 80% or even 100% of services" (House of Commons, 2011, paras 62-3, online).

Similar financial impacts are being replicated in the voluntary and community youth sector, and it is estimated cuts in public funding for charities could be £1.7bn (12%) lower by 2017/18 (NCVYO, 2013, online). Moreover, the Education Select Committee expressed concerns about the impacts of cuts, and the level of expenditure on the new initiative. In particular it noted that the cost of a universal NCS for all 16/17 year olds "may well outstrip entire annual spending by local authorities on youth services, which totalled £350 million in 2009-10" (ibid., para 129). Such concerns are borne out by the 2012 NCS evaluation, which indicated that when in full operation and recruiting 600,000 young people the cost will be estimated as £360m, based on the current annual cost £36.8 million for 26,000 young recruits (NatCen, 2013, p.7). Moreover, the NCS spend amounts to £1,415 per head (for a six week programme) which compares unfavourably and is less cost effective as a 'fast burn'

citizenship programme than the more sustained and developmental local authority youth services, whose average cost of £84 per young person for yearlong programme (National Youth Agency, 2008, online).

Fast-track youth vs 'old skool' politics

Young people today are forging their identities amidst an array of complex social, economic, cultural changes. As the new-borns of the 'information age'[3] they have learnt to navigate the myriad of diverse information sources and forms of communication emerging as a result of the advanced technological shifts of late modernity. Within this context there is evidence to suggest that there is a stark contrast between these lived experiences and the pace of change of what will be termed 'old skool' democratic institutions, meaning the conventional processes of elected representatives and parliamentary institutions.

We are witnessing a young generation that increasingly inhabit 'fast track' lived experiences who are more globally aware and inter-connected through diverse forms of social media and communications technologies. Birdwell and Bani, (2014) suggest "we are on the cusp of a new generation" (p.42) meaning we are moving beyond the Generation Y (births 1980-2000) towards what they have termed 'Generation C'. From this perspective the 'C' refers to communication, as we observe the first generation of young people (those aged under 14 in 2014, i.e. the next NCS cohort) who can best be described as 'digital natives' that have inhabited a world of social media, new technologies which have transformed the way they view the world.

This recent research accurately captures the changes related to globalization effects,

[3] **Information Age** refers to the evolution of technology into everyday life, beginning with the availability of personal computer circa 1977, through to the rapid expansion of the internet in the mid-1990s. These transformations have resulted in wider access to information, global communications and new forms of social networking that shape today's society.

known as 'time and space' compression[4], and states that as 'digital natives', they are "accustomed to speed and responsiveness and desire a politics that engages them at the same pace" (ibid. p.14). Moreover, Birdwell and Bani's (2014) research captures these 'fast track' experiences, and states that young people have a global perspective and they no longer prepared to rely on "politicians and others to solve the world's problems, but instead roll up their sleeves and power up their laptop and smartphone to get things done through crowd-sourced collaboration" (ibid.). Such examples include using new forms of communications to actively engage instantaneously with Facebook campaigns, online petitions and contemporary twitter debates such as #euromaidan and the Ukraine revolution, which according to Barberá and Metzger (2014) involved 250,000 tweets during 24 hours on 18-19 February 2014. They are also re-tweeting images of the one million refugee children caught up in the conflict in Syria. Therefore, these experiences suggest that this 'new' generation are 'active citizens', they can be described as 'social justice citizens' (Kennedy, 2011), i.e. they are actively interested and engaged in a global world, less reliant on terrestrial television or printed news formats, in essence they are active citizens [Jim], but not as we know it!

The global economic 'banking crisis', with the subsequent round of 'austerity cuts' provide indication of the limitations of nation states to buffer its citizens against such global crises and has resulted in the breakdown of a traditional 'social contract' between citizens and state. The phenomenon has been characterized has a "growing crisis of legitimacy" (Kabeer, 2005, cited in Mayo et al. 2009, p.167) which has resulted in the recent series of Europe-wide social movements which have led to government ministerial resignations and changes as a result of these protests, for example, Iceland's "Saucepan Revolution", Greece's

[4] **Time–space compression** first articulated by David Harvey (1989), a human geographer, and refers to any phenomenon that alters the qualities of and relationship between space and time. Examples include; advances in communications, e.g. email, internet, smartphone; travel, e.g. high speed rail, jets, cars; and economic trade, e.g. banking, international trade and commerce. It is closely linked to globalization theory by acknowledging that within contemporary society the pace of life increases and the globe become smaller.

"Indignados" and Ukraine's sustained resistance movement "Euromaidan". Other governments and political elites have been shaken by the devastation caused by mass popular youth protests and social unrest, including Spain's "15-M" movement, Portugal's "Geração o rascal" (see Flesher Fominaya and Cox, 2012; 2014); and the English 2011 'urban riots' (see Briggs, 2012).

The 'new' generation of young people have also witness how the previous Generation Y have experienced an increased surveillance society, and suffered changes in youth justice polices and criminalisation of youth people. They have recognised how that generation has been labelled as the *ASBO generation* (Muncie, 2009), alongside the impact of mass youth unemployment with the stigmatisation of those young people which have been categorised as the *NEET generation*. They have become increasingly bored of the media's homogenous labelling of them as 'feral' or 'apathetic' youth. They are also tired of the portrayal of young people in the media, which Levinsen and Wien (2011) longitudinal Danish media content study suggest are a common portrayal, and furthermore, their findings suggest that over the last fifty years there has been a gradual shift towards a more negative and disproportionate portrayal of young people in the printed news media.

It seems plausible that the 'new' generation will also become tiresome of the slow pace of change, and will continue the trend of rejecting 'old skool' parliamentary democracy within nation states and the EU more widely. For instance, the recent Kenny Report II (Imafidon, 2014) has articulated the arguments for change in the political systems, similarly the 'Votes at 16' campaign continues to beat the drum about widening the electoral franchise to the one and half million young people aged 16-17 in the UK (votesat16.org, nd, online). Birdwell and Bani, (2014) conclude that if they are given the right kind of opportunities and support "today's teenagers might just transform our notions and expectations of active citizenship" (p.14).

Therefore, the evidence suggests that UK's young citizens utilise more unique and

contemporary forms of social action such as Facebook and Twitter. Furthermore, they actively engaged in contributing to society via an arrays of part time jobs and social roles; they are delivering our daily papers, working on milk rounds, caring for siblings with disabilities, supporting parents with drug and alcohol dependencies, and this is before most people have had their breakfast. They are active citizens who volunteer in our local charities shops, serve us in our fish and chips shops and support their families in running their corner shops. These social actions are undertaken in a mixture of public and private spheres and they take place outside the 'old skool' bubble of Westminster politics, and as such these civic youth zones are above and beyond the liminal spaces offered by the NCS.

NCS an outdated and limited perspective of 'citizenship as nationhood'

The traditional 'old skool' politicians within both UK and EU political institutions are dancing to a different beat from that set out in the previous section. Their view of youth citizenship is limited and bounded in a 'nationhood' concept. For whilst the policy rhetoric claims that the NCS will become the new 'rites of passage' for today's young people, a sort of graduation for all those 'new' citizens. It can be argued that these sentiments reflect less about youth citizenship in the twenty first century as outlined above, but are much more about EU states preoccupations with national identity and social problems.

Mayo et al. (2009) recognise that there has been an "increasing interest in conceptualizing citizenship in wider terms, exploring the connections between the local, the national and the international levels" (p.167). Others suggest that there is too much of the debate about the citizenship is framed within the context of national identity. For instance, Stoltze (2010) research into social cohesion and childhood identifies that in many European societies "immigration has come to symbolize a possible danger to social cohesion from increased racial and ethnic diversity" (p.40). Similarly, Doppen (2010) states that the "Dutch have been engaged in an intense debate about their national identity and how citizenship education can contribute to the integration of Muslim immigrants in particular" (p.135).

The product of these policy deliberations has resulted in a retrenched position as governments revert to a more pre-determined and limited approach to citizenship. A key factor that shapes these approaches include the significant issues associated with inter-European migration, facilitated by the process of accession of new member states as part of the EU policy of enlargement and integration. Such recent developments are coupled with wider demographic changes over the last fifty years, as part of de-colonization process[5] and assimilation of 'guest workers' in the post 1945 period. As a result concerns related to ethnic diversity have become an increasingly significant factor which has led to governments to initiate national debates about citizenship and identity across Europe.

The NCS is just such an example of this retrenchment; it takes its starting points from a 'nationhood' and a communitarian[6] notion of citizenship, one which emphasises that an individual's sense of belonging comes from being part of a community. It is asserts that it is a community's norms and values which determines moral action, and it means that we are more concerned with "people who are like us and who share the same culture in our national communities" (Walzer, 1983, cited in Scholtze, 2011, p.41). In contrast, the lived experiences of young people within diverse communities, alongside the global awareness and inter-connectedness through social media suggest that as 'digital natives' they are developing connections with other communities which are beyond national boundaries.

Research into emerging youth cultures indicates that youth identities and influences reach far beyond their geographical and national boundaries. Ethnographic studies suggest the current generation of young people experience increased inter-connectedness and diverse

[5] **Decolonisation** used here to refer to the specific period following World War Two which saw the end to British, Dutch, Portuguese, French, Belgian and Italian colonial empires. It involved relinquishing responsibility for foreign relations and security and the recognition for the new nation's independence and sovereignty.

[6] **Communitarianism** refers to a philosophical approach to society which emphasises the connection between the individual and the community. It is derived from the assumption that individual identity and social values is a product of communal relationships rather than individuality. It seeks promote social capital, harness social action and maintain democracy through the institutions of civil society (see Putman, 2000).

cultural landscapes. As Appadurai, (1991) states these "landscapes of group identity - the ethnoscapes - around the world are no longer familiar anthropological objects, insofar as groups are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogeneous" (p.41). These 'ethnoscapes' have resulted in the emergence of diverse identities or what can be termed 'hybrid cultures' (Nilan, P. and Carles Feixa, C., 2006; Butcher & Thomas, 2006). Also, young people construct and inhabit new cultural zones, what Bhabha (1994) terms a 'third space' or an 'in-betweener' identity (Guerra and White, 1995), meaning a new cultural zone which is located between their parent/heritage cultural traditions and the localised neighbourhood or indigenous social norms. Some examples of these 'hybrid cultures' can be located in today's urban communities across Europeans cities, as well as globally; examples include 'B-boyz' and hip-hop crews, where the cultural influences and fusions come from diverse ethnic peer groups, cultural heritage as well as global media, music, dance and fashions products (Nayak, 2002).

The NCS model and citizenship approach seeks to foster shared understanding through communitarism and is couched within a concept of citizenship that emphasises 'nationhood' at precisely the time when EU states and young people need to be engaged in the broader debate of cosmopolitanism[7] and global citizenship. The NCS emphasises an ethos of team building, discipline, duty, decency which is essentially a outdated re-fashioned model of the cadet movement, a kind of Cromwellian 'new model army' of virtuous volunteers, which are mentored and guided in the dark art of *esprit de corps*. It offers a limited and pre-existing construct much more akin to what T.H. Marshall in the 1950s termed our 'citizen's in the making'. Also, it echoes the concerns of former nineteenth century paternalism and patrons of the original mass cadet movement, which sought to re-engage the socially disadvantaged

[7] **Cosmopolitanism** adopts a humanist values approach to people and society and rejects artificial barriers that seek to separate people, e.g. state borders. It is viewed here as in direct contrast to traditional nationhood politics, or nation-state theories. It therefore recognises transnationalism, and ultimately global citizenship (see Beck, 2006).

youth into virtuous civil action, as former patron Sir Francis Fletcher Vane (1909) stated: the original ethos of the cadet movement was to provide "inspiration for bringing working class boys within the general ambience of social values fostered by the public schools" (cited in Springhall, 1977, p.72) and instils "true patriotism that will lead to a just appreciation of the duties of citizenship" (ibid.).

Moreover, this cadet ethos offered a bordered notion of citizenship at a time of Empire with a pre-determined type of citizenship whose membership was based on patriotism and duty to which young people must graduate. The requirement was to demonstrate, as Cameron did, a commitment to civic responsibilities and helping those less fortunate, the elderly, weak and disabled. It seeks to embed the notion and essence of patriotism and nationhood, and the values of "doing good for others", self-reliance and civic obligations which are all encapsulated in the ideal of a 'good citizen'. These sentiments are echoed by Lancelot Bennett who in 1912 wrote in The Times espousing the virtues of cadet companies' capability to "inculcate patriotism, discipline and habits of obedience to authority, self-reliance and regularity" (ibid, p.50)., and specified that through their participation "the working boy would cultivate the spirit of comradeship and esprit de corps which is so marked a trait in his more fortunate public school brother" (ibid.).

Mycock described the NCS programme as "an unproven vanity project" (2010, online), and questioned the suitability of such a project which seeks to address key social problems, and the widespread disaffection of young people. An exploration of how Cameron has described the ambitions of the programme suggests it is an attempt to refashion the early cadet movement of the late 19th century, which began in the major public schools of the time, and something he would have experienced during his time at Eton College. It is an attempt to replicate the misplaced ambitions of Victorian paternalism and benevolence seeking to restore the traditional fabric of society, which was left threadbare in the aftermath of the urban disturbances, social unrest and protests on the streets of England in the summer of

2011.

NCS programme as a failed 'fast burn' approach to youth citizenship.

In the previous two sections we have examined the ways in which the NCS is couched within firstly, a narrow policy interpretation of young people's lives, social action and forms of political engagement. It therefore can be consider to have sidestepped any contemporary debate related to the culturally diverse aspects of young people's lived experiences. Secondly, we have seen how the NCS can be described as an initiative which seeks to inculcate a 'nationhood' and communitarian model of citizenship with its exclusive sense of civic duty and national pride which negates a cosmopolitan view of identity. Now it is possible that those who purport to support the programme will accept its limitations as a vehicle for social action within the wider social, economic and cultural needs of young people. They may also feel that it is worthwhile and valuable as a 'rites of passage' for all 16 year olds because it supports young people's development. So let's examine its effectiveness as a project within its own terms, to consider the NCS's effectiveness in promoting social cohesion, supporting youth transitions and enabling young people's active citizenship at a local level.

Drawing upon the most recent findings from the NatCen (2013) NCS evaluation data this section will appraise the project. In general terms the findings suggest that 95% of young people engaged in the project felt very positive about NCS youth work staff. Furthermore, 85% rated the support with developing their social action project was good or very good. Participants expressed their enjoyment with the programme overall, including the opportunity to meet new people, participate in residential activities, team and leadership skill training to the extent that 98% said they would recommend it to a friend.

However, the data suggest that its contribution towards social cohesion and building a cohesive society is less positive. NCS seeks to encourage what is termed 'social mixing', which means bringing together people from different social and ethnic background to broaden understanding and awareness of difference. The evidence suggests that the impact

here was modest at best and NatCen concluded that "we found a small number of positive impacts, although change in this area was mixed" (2013, p.39). In terms of 'social cohesion' and its ability to foster social networks, and the evaluation suggests there was no significant impact as the "composition of friendship groups remained static" (ibid.).

Mycock (op cit.) raised doubts about the NCS ability to address or tackle social disadvantage or social exclusion, and these assumptions were confirmed by the data which indicated that majority of participants were from economically advantaged sectors of society, and those already engaged in civic action and volunteering. It found that only 20% of those participating were considered to be socially disadvantaged (using the Free School Meal (FSM) as an indicator), and that only 4% of the participants were defined as 'excluded from school', whilst 5% were attending independent or private schools. Other similar social action and volunteering project in the UK have demonstrated a far more significant impact in terms of engaging disadvantaged groups, for instance *Vinspired*, a national volunteering project for 14-25 year olds, most recent impact report suggests that the project had successfully reached marginalised and disadvantaged groups, including 25,500 homeless young people, including 10% previous looked after children, 31,850 young lone parents, 331,240 young people on low income and 44,950 ex-young offenders (NatCen, 2011).

In terms of the extent to which the NCS supports young people's progression into education, employment and training the programme the evaluation indicated that whilst there was a small but significant impact on attitudes towards education, overall it was concluded that the NCS programme did not make a significant impact on the entry to post 16 education, employment and training (NatCen 2013, p.39). There was also evidence of the programme's failure to sustain any life changing impacts, concluding that the social interaction was useful but not long lasting. Such evidence reflects criticism from voluntary sector youth organisations, for example, the Sea Cadets UK were reported to have complained that the NCS will fail to deliver "the slow-burn approach that uniformed volunteering, such as his

charity or the Scouts offers" (Mason, 2011, online). The criticism suggests that it is too short term, and to have any sustained impact it needs to engage young people at a much earlier age. Furthermore, the NatCen evaluation identified that the NCS had a negative impact on four out of five of its 'transitions to adulthood' indicators and the majority of participants felt that their local volunteering programme had made little impact on the way other community members perceived young people, therefore the impact of the empowering elements of the programme are negligible.

Finally, so far the NCS has demonstrated an inability to enable young people's active participation through providing a voice and influence at local level. The evaluation suggests that 79% of participants had previous voluntary experience, meaning that the majority of the NCS cohorts were already actively engaged in social action, and this exceeds the current 44% of those aged 16-24 who regularly volunteer (Cabinet Office, 2013, online). Also, young people reported that their participation in local social action projects had made no significant difference to the level of trust amongst local people, but indicated that the experience of the NCS programme had made them less likely to help out or volunteer after the project.

Conclusions: Young people as citizens in their own right?

Today's young people already have a civic responsibility and a volunteering ethos; they are the young carers, school representatives, peer educators, social media generators. They have a stake in and care about what tomorrow's society will be. They do not need to demonstrate their citizenship credentials in order to find to place in society. What is needed is for adult society, the politicians and policy makers to recognise and value our current youth generation. The next generation of young people will represent a generation shift; they are the 'digital natives' of the information age and knowledge society. They must be afforded the dignity and respect as young citizens of today, and 'old skool' politicians and political institutions need to enable then the time and space to construct what their futures will be. The process of empowerment requires dialogue and space to achieve change; it needs less

'fast burn' initiatives such as the NCS, but more 'slow burn' and developmental youth work approaches which take us beyond the residential as life-fulfilling experience. If the EU wishes to encourage youth voices in the debate about *Building Tomorrow's Europe* it must find a way to bridge the divide between its nation states 'old skool' political mentalities and methods, and the 'new' generation's lived realities in digitally interconnected and culturally diverse spaces. In this regard the UK's National Citizen Service is failing to contribute little if anything to the debate. As a policy for youth citizenship in the twenty first century it provides a liminal space for such a debate because its projects a retrospective vision of the future. It adopts a 'nationhood' model of citizenship that seeks to inculcate a sense of identity and belonging which is firmly located within its territorial borders, allied to civic obligation, duties and "doing good deeds". It absolutely fails to recognise or value young people as active and engaged citizens today, instead in projects a limited concept of citizenship which places young people in a bound status as 'bordered citizens', those on the fringes of contemporary debate, the 'citizens in waiting' standing in line awaiting further moral guidance and instruction.

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